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AGENTS

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE LANDMARK OF FREEDOM. SPEECH

HON, CHARLES SUMNER AGAINST THE REPEAL

PROHIBITION OF SLAVERY NORTH OF THIR TY SIX DEGREES THIRTY MINUTES.

Ju Senate, February 21, 1854. MR. PRESIDENT:

I approach this discussion with awe. The mighty question, with untold issues, which it involves, oppresses me. Like a portentous cloud, surcharged with irresistible storm and

ruin, it seems to fill the whole heavens, making me painfully conscious how unequal I am to the occasion—how unequal, also, is all that I eat say, to all that I feel.

la delivering my sentiments here to day, I shall speak frankly—according to my convictions, without concealment or reserve. But if anything fell from the Senator from Illinois, [Mr. Douglas,] in opening this discussion, which might seem to challenge a personal contest, I desire to say that I shall not enter upon test, I desire to say that I shall be charled about it. Let not a word or a tone pass my lips to direct attention, for a moment, from the transcendent theme, by the side of which Senators and Presidents are but dwarfs. I would not forget those amenities which belong to this place, and are so well calculated to temper the antagonism of debate; nor can I cease to remember and to feel, that, amidst all diversiremember and the soft opinion, we are the representatives of thirty-ore sister republics, knit together by indissoluble tie, and constituting that Plural l'nit, which we all embrace by the endearing

name of country.

The question presented for your consideration is not surpassed in grandeur by any which has occurred in our national history since the Declaration of Independence. In very aspect it assumes gigantic proportions, ntory it concerns, or the public faith, or naquestion—that Question of Questions, as far above others as Liberty is above the common hings of life-which it opens anew for judg-

It concerns an immense region, larger than the original thirteen States, vying in extent with all the existing Free States, stretching wer prairie, field, and forest-interlaced by liver streams, skirted by protesting mountains and constituting the heart of the North Amerian continent-only a little smaller, let me add than three great European countries combined— Italy, Spain, and France, each of which, in sucession has dominated over the world. This territory has already been likened, on this floor, to the Garden of God. The similitude is found, not merely in its present pure and vir-gin character, but in its actual geographical stuation, occupying central spaces on this hemisphere, which, in their general relations, may well compare with that early Asiatic

tion, or even imagination, may be likened

are now called to exercise the grandest function of the lawgiver, by establishing those rules of As the twig is bent the tree inclines; and conceivable importance to its future weal or woe.
The bill now before us, proposes to organize civil society. Such a measure olemn covenant, and of the early

approved March 6th, 1820, preparatory to the idmission of Missouri into the Union, as a

It is now proposed to set aside this prohi-

ised by the legislation of 1850, commonly alled the Compromise Measures, is hereby

coessively, at different times, and by different otes—some persons voting for one measure, and some voting for another, and very few ting for all, they cannot be regarded as a public—"heir of all the ages, for it, embodying conditions of compact, or commise, if you please, adopted equally by all rism which they have renounced. been adduced as an apology for the propo

On two distinct grounds, "both strong against the deed," I now arraign it; First, in the name of Public Faith, as an infraction of the solemn obligations assumed beyond recall by the South on the admission of Missouri into the Union as a Slave State; Secondly, I arraign it in the name of Freedom, as an unjustifiable departure from the original Anti-Slavery policy of our fathers. These two heads I propose to consider in their order, glancing under the latter at the objections to the prohibition of Slavery in the Territories.

And here, eir, before I approach the argument, indulge me with a few preliminary words on the character of this proposition. Slavery is the forcible subjection of one human being, in person, labor, or property, to the will of another. In this simple statement is involved its whole injustice. There is no offence against religion, against morals, against humanity, which may not stalk, in the license of this institution, "unwhipt of justice." For the husband and wife there is no marriage; for the mother there is no assurance that her infant child will not be ravished from her breast; for all who bear the name of Slave, there is nothing that they can call, their own. Without a father, without a mother, or the snow create of the Rocky Mountains. almost without a God, the slave has nothing or the snowy crests of the Rocky Mountain a system, though mitigated often by a patriar-chal kindness, and by a plausible physical comfort, could be otherwise than pernicious in its once to the argument. influences. It is confessed, that the master I. And now, sir, in the name of that Pubnot all. The whole social fabric is disorganized; labor loses its dignity; industry sickens; edu-cation finds no schools, and all the land of Slavery is impoverished. And now, sir, when the conscience of mankind is at last aroused to these things, when, throughout the civilized hear me. There is an early Italian story of Hampshire, as made in the true spirit of special law is worthy of notice, on account these things, when, throughout the civilized hear me. There is an early Italian story of world a slavedealer is a by-word and a reproach, an experienced citizen, who, when his compromise." It was opposed by Mr. ket to the traffickers in flesh, that haunt the the University of Bologna, the science of who avowed himself against every restriction often vouchsafed to Slavery. This wrong, we are speciously told, by those who seek to defend it, is not our original sin. . It was en- for that is worth two of the other;" and Slavery, in any of the Territories, should tailed upon us, so we are instructed, by our an- the bystanders of that day all agreed that be recognised or sanctioned by Congress." at any time, would deserve the most careful Now, without stopping to inquire into the val-attention. But, at the present moment, it us of this apology, which is never adduced in overthrew, it is sufficient, for the present purpose, to know, that it is now proposed to make but that, as honest men, desirous to do Moines, thus constituting the horthern, Slavery our own original act. Here is a fresh guarded against Slavery by a positive case of actual transgression, which we cannot cast upon the shoulders of any progenitors,

act was passed, by which a vast territory was opened to its inroads. Alone in the company of nations does our ountry assume this hateful championship. It is now proposed to set aside this prohibition; but there seems to be a singular indetutes the "peculiar institution" of that great State, Slavery was forever prohibited in all neson as to the way in which the deed shall be empire, is never allowed to travel with the imdone. From the time of its first introduction, perial flag, according to the American pretenin the report of the Committee on Torritories, sign into provinces payly acquired by the sion, into provinces newly acquired by the common blood and treasure, but is carefully restricted by positive prohibition, in harmony now, one thing in form, and now, another; now, like a river, and then like a flame; but, in every form and shape, identical in substance; with but one end and aim—its be-all every side, in all the provinces, as in Besarabia and end-all—the overthrow of the Prohibition on the south, and Poland on the west, so that, in fact, no Russian nobleman has been able to At first, it proposed simply to declare, that move into these important territories with his states formed out of this Territory should slaves. Thus Russia speaks for Freedom, the States formed out of this Territory should be admitted into the Union, "with or without Slavery," and did not directly assume to tough this prohibition. For some reason this was not satisfactory, and then it was precipitately proposed to declare, that the prohibition in the Missouri act "was superseded by the principles of the legislation of 1850, commonly called the Compromise Measures, and is hereby declared incorrative." But this would not do:

Raybary States of Africa, occupying the same declared inoperative." But this would not do; Barbary States of Africa, occupying the same and it is now proposed to declare, that the parallels of latitude with the slave States of robibition, "being inconsistent with the prin-ples of non-intervention, by Congress, with ed by the legislation of 1850, commonly sought shelter in both, have been changed into Abolitionists. Algiers, seated near the line of 36 deg. 30 min., has been dedicated to Freedom. Morocco, by its untutored ruler, has expressed its desire, stamped in the formal ceeded that noble act, by which, "In honor of God, and to distinguish man from the brute creation"—I quote his own words—he decreed its total abolition throughout his dominions. Let Christian America be willing to be taught by these examples. God forbid that our Republic—"heir of all the ages, foremost in the files of time"—should adopt anew the barba-

vaunted period of light, will be responsible for

mal truth of the equality of men, as proclaimed in our Declaration of Independence, has been assailed, and this great charter of our they are, they cannot, by any effort of inpretation, by any distorting wand of power,
any perverse alchemy, be transmuted into
repeal of that original prohibition of Sla
de in our Declaration of Independence, has
been assailed, and this great charter of our
country discredited. Sir, you and I will soon
pass away, but that will continue to stand,
gations which it imposed. above impeachment or question. The Declaration of Independence was a Declaration of ch I would merely call attention, and then on. First: The Slavery enactments of did not pretend, in terms, to touch, much strained within the design and sphere of a Decto change, the condition of the Louisiana laration of Rights, involving no such absurdity

portance in a manner, from which I feel constrained kindly, but most strenuously, to dissent. Sir, the census shows that it is of vital consequence. There is Missouri at this moment, with Illinois on the east and Nebraska on the west, all covering nearly the same spaces of latitude, and resembling each other in soil, climate, and productions. Mark, now, the contrast! By the potent efficacy of the Ordinance of the Northwestern Territory, Illinois is now a free State, while Missouri has 87,422 slaves; and the simple question which challenges an and the simple question which challenges an answer is, whether Nebraska shall be preserved in the condition of Illinois, or surfer served in the condition of Illinois, or surrendered to that of Missouri? Surely this cannot be treated lightly. But for myself, I am unwilling to measure the exigency of the prohibition by the number of persons, whether many or few, whom it may protect. Human rights, whether in a solitary individual or a vast multitude, are entitled to an equal and unhesitating support. In this spirit, the flag of our country only recently became the impenetrable panoply of an homeless wanderer, who claimed its protection in a distant sea; and in this spirit, I am constrained to declare that

right, they will confront this question. Sir, the proposition before you involves

Approved March 6th, 1820, preparatory to the dission of Missouri into the Union, as a place. The Congress of the United States, the people of the United States, at this day, in this inally proposed and assumed by the South, it, so that it shall be said hereafter, so long as as a covenant of peace — with regard the dismal history of Slavery is read, that, in to certain specified territory therein described, namely: "All that Territory ceded by France to the United States, unmeasure of public confidence. Of all the der the name of Louisiana;" according leading actors in these early scenes, he to which, in consideration of the admis- and Mr. MERCER alone are yet spared. On sion into the Union of Missouri as a slave this occasion he said: the remaining part of this Territory which lies north of 36 deg. 30 min. This arrangement, between different sections of the Union—the Slave States of the second part—though usually known as the Slavery, it was justly repugnant to the to have been made; but it has on that side been performed. And now the unperformed outstanding obligations to Free-

dom, originally proposed and assumed by tal. Death, with inexorable scythe, has pact: but, with conservative hour-glass, it

temporary records, will show the origin

restrictions already adopted in the Missouri bill were moved by Mr. TAYLOR, of New York, subsequently Speaker; but after at least six close votes, on the yeas the British. On the day after the receipt and nays, in one of which the House was of the President's Message, two several equally divided, 88 yeas to 88 nays, they should not hereafter be introduced into this Territory, was lost by 90 nays to 86 States. With only the delay of a single yeas; and the Arkansas bill on February day, the bill for the admission of Missouri 25th was read the third time and passed. In the Senate, Mr. BURRILL, of Rhode Island, moved, as an amendment, the provery into this Territory, which was lost by 19 nays to 14 yeas. And thus, without consideration was postponed for several any provision for Freedom, Arkansas weeks; all which, be it observed, is in was organized as a Territory; and here

right, said in reply, "You have spent your tion; and also by Mr. Ogle, of Pennsyltime to little purpose. It would have been vania, on behalf of Freedom, who was better had you learned the science of might, "against any Compromise by which will not act in this spirit - that they will eral Harrison, afterwards President of the not substitute might for right - that they United States, who "assented to the exwill not wantonly and flagitiously discard pediency of establishing some such line and not the southern boundary of Missouri, the partition line between Freedom

Sir, the proposition before you mit on the proposition of solemn obligations original suggested by Taylor, was thus early adopted and vindicated in this very debate, by

"The fixing of a line on the west of the Mis-

After opposing the restriction on Missouri, he concluded by declaring:

"At the same time, I do not mean to aban don the policy to which I alluded in the com-mencement of my remarks. I think it but fair mencement of my remarks. I think it but fair that both sections of the Union should be accommodated on this subject, with regard to which so much feeling has been manifested. The same great motives of policy which reconciled and harmonized the jarring and discordant alternate of our system originally, and which Years have passed since these obliga-tions were embodied in the legislation of the compromise the different interests which tions were embodied in the legislation of Congress, and accepted by the country. Meanwhile, the statesmen by whom they were framed and vindicated have, one by one, dropped from this earthly sphere. Their living voices cannot now be heard, to plead for the preservation of that Public Faith to which they were pledged. But this extraordinary lapse of time, with the complete fruition by one party of all the benefits belonging to it, under the compact, gives to the transaction an added and most sacred strength. Prescription steps most sacred strength. Prescription steps in with new bonds, to confirm the original work; to the end that while men are mortal, controversies shall not be immortal. Death, with inexorable scythe, has the Northern section of the Union, upon which this Compromise can be effected."

The suggestions of Compromise were sentinels, to guard the sacred landmark of termined. The North, by the prevailing voice of its representatives, claimed all for A simple statement of facts, derived from the journals of Congress and con-

and the received "with or without Starry," in the control of the start of the control of the con

came together in December, 1819, taking possession of these Halls of the Capitol for the first time since their desolation by committees of the House were constiwere lost. Another proposition by Mr. tuted, one to consider the application of Taylor, simpler in form, that Slavery Maine, and the other of Missouri, to enter the Union as separate and independent was reported to the House without the restriction of Slavery; but, as if shrinking from the immediate discussion of the great hibition of the further introduction of Sla- question it involved, afterwards, on the motion of Mr. MERCER, of Virginia, its open contrast with the manner in which was a triumph of Slavery. the present discussion has been precipi-At this same session, Alabama was adthe present discussion has been precipi-

thought it important that some line should to inquire into the expediency of pro-But leaving these things behind, I press at be designated beyond which Slavery should hibiting the introduction of Slavery into not be permitted," and he moved its prohi- the Territories west of the Mississippi. bition hereafter in all territories of the This committee, at the end of a fortnight, lic Faith, which is the very ligament of civil United States north of 36° 30', north lati- was discharged from further consideration society, and which the great Roman ora-tor tells us it is detestable to break even with an enemy, I arraign this scheme, with an enemy, I arraign this scheme, with an enemy of this line. This proposition, though withdrawn after debate, was at we, as a nation, are about to open a new mar- nephew told him he had been studying, at Rhea, of Tennessee, on behalf of Slavery, which it drew forth. In the course of his remarks. Mr. Taylor declared, that

"He presumed there were no members, h knew of none, who doubted the constitutional power of Congress to impose such a restriction A generous voice from Virginia recog-

cestors; and the responsibility is often, with the veteran spoke the truth. I begin, exultation, thrown upon the mother country. sir, by assuming that honorable Senators ported by others among whom was Gengress. This was from Charles Fenton Mercer, who declared that

"When the question proposed should com fairly before the House, he should support the any obligation, pledge, or covenant, be- of discrimination;" but proposed a line proposition. He should record his vote against cause they chance to possess the power; due west from the mouth of the Des now darkened his country, from rolling on beyond the peaceful shores of the Mississippi. At length, on the 26th January, 1820, the House resolved itself into Commit of the Whole on the Missouri Bill, and proceeded with its discussion, day by day, till the 28th of February, when it was reported back with amendments. But meanwhile the same question was presented to the Senate, where a conclusion was for the admission of Missouri was moved by way of tack to the Maine bill. To this an amendment was moved by Mr. Roberts, of Pennsylvania, prohibiting the further introduction of Slavery into the State, which, after a fortnight's debate, was defeated by 27 navs to 16 yeas.

The debate in the Senate was of unusual nterest and splendor. It was especially power from that great lawyer and orator, William Pinkney. Recently returned from a succession of missions to foreign courts, of the Senate. The restriction of Slavery the American bar, particularly skilled in ted to produce a profound impression. In a speech which drew to this chamber an dmiring throng for two days, and which the best examples of Greece and Rome, he first authoritatively proposed and developed the Missouri Compromise. His masterly effort was mainly directed against the restriction upon Missouri, but it began and ended with the idea of compromise. 'Notwithstanding," he says, "occasional appearances of rather an unfavorable description, I have long since persuaded myself that the Missouri question, as it is called, might be laid to rest, with innocence ed, might be laid to rest, with innocence of aspiration in our day, and will ever live of aspiration in our day, and will ever live dever Such a man 887. and safety, by some conciliatory Compromise at least, by which, as is our duty, we might reconcile the extremes of conflicting views and feelings, without any sacrifice of constitutional principles." And he of the Committee, on the ground "that it the original constitutionality of the arclosed with the hope that the restriction on Missouri would not be pressed, but that the whole question "might be disposed of has counted out a succession of years, which now defile before us, like so many at this time vain; each party was depective prohibition of Slavery in the Territory to the north and west of Missouri."

This authoritative proposition of Com-promise, from the most powerful advocate ri, was made in the Senate on the 21st of For the first time in our history, January. From various indications, it As early as 1818, at the first session of the fifteenth Congress, a bill was reported to the House of Representatives, authorizing the people of the Missouri Territory to form a Constitution and State Govern-

in the adoption of the Misseuri Compromise. First openly announced and vindicated on the floor of the Senate, by a distinguished Southern statesman, it was forced on the North by an almost unanimous Southern vote.

While things had thus culminated the Senate, discussion was still proceeding in the other House on the original Missouri bill. This was for a moment arrested by the reception from the Senate of the Maine bill, embodying the Missouri Compromise. Upon this the debate was brief and the decision prompt. But here, even at this stage, as at every other, a Southern statesman intervenes. Mr. Smith, of Maryland, for many years an eminent Senator of that State, but at this time a Representative, while opposing the restriction on Missouri, vindicated the prohibi

At this same session, Alabama was admitted as a slave State, without any restriction or objection.

It was in the discussion on the Arkausas bill, at this session, that we find the carliest suggestion of a Compromise. Described in his efforts to prohibit Slavery in the morth line; that it did not interfere with the morth line; that it may be considered as past. That bill was sent to the may be considered as past. the Territory of Arkansas, or the uninhabited land west thereof. He thought the proposition not exceptionable; but doubted the propriety of its forming a part of the bill. He considered the power of Congress over the territory as supreme, unlimited, before its admission; that Congress could impose on its Territories any restrictions it thought proper; that if citizens go into the Territories thus restricted, they cannot carry with them slaves. They will be without slaves, and will be educated with prejudices and habits such as will ex-clude all desire on their part to admit slavery, when they shall become sufficiently numerous to be admitted as a State. And this is the advantage proposed by the amendment."

But the House was not disposed to barter the substantial restriction of slavery in Missouri, for what seemed its unsubstantial prohibition in an unsettled Territory. The Compromise was rejected, and the bill left in its original condition. This was done by large votes. Even the prohibition of slavery was thrown out by 159 yeas to 18 nays, both the North and the South uniting against it. The Senate. on receiving the bill back from the House, insisted on their amendments. The House in turn insisted on their disagreement. According to parliamentary usage, a Committee of Conference between the two Houses was appoined. Mr. Thomas, of Mr. JAMES BARBOUR, of Virginia, composed this important committee on the part of the Senate; and Mr. HOLMES, of Maine, Mr. TAYLOR, of New York, Mr. New Jersey, on the part of the House.

Meanwhile, the House had voted on the House, and was sent to the Senate, were at a dead-lock. The double-headed Missouri Compromise, was the ultimatum in Missouri, involving, of course, its prowas the ultimatum of the House.

At this stage, on the 2d of March, the port, which was urged at once upon the Representative from South Carolina, and could find heresies in the Lord's Prayer p. 1135. here, sir, at the mention of this name, yet any flaw can be found in the existing oblifragrant among us, let me stop for one moment this current of history, to express in the discussions of this body, the Sen- tal words, has enrolled himself among the tender admiration with which I am in- ator from Virginia, who sits behind me, the earliest Abolitionists of the country. spired. Mr. Lowndes died before my rec- [Mr. Mason,] while condemning it in In his address to the Virginia Convention ollection of political events; but he is en- many aspects, says: deared by that single sentiment-that the which, by its beauty, shames the vileness be the last to disturb it."-Congressional Globe, greatest object of desire in these Colonies as an amaranthine flower. Such a man at any time is a host; but he now threw Even this distinguished Senator recog- laration of Independence, he embodied his great heart into the work. He object-ed even to a motion to print the report not disturb. And, though disbelieving plied, will give Freedom to every Slave to delay a decision of the subject to-day, sir, that it is in form simply a legislative try, speaking by the voice of Jefferson, which he had hoped the House was fully act; but as the Act of Settlement in Engtelligencer says:

"Mr. Lownpes spoke briefly in support of

ware, had urged it upon Congress, "by some compact binding upon all subsequent legislatures." It was in 1820 brought forward and upheld in the Senate by WILLIAM ing could be more unjust; and the Athe-PINKNEY, of Maryland, and passed in that nian multitude, responding at once, reoody by the vote of every Southern Senator except two, against the vote of every Northern Senator except four. It was wel- Greek fleet, which then rested in the secucomed in the House by Samuel Smith, of Maryland. The Committee of Conference. through which it finally prevailed, was filled, on the part of the Senate, with inflexible partisans of the South, such as might fitly represent the sentiments of its President pro tem., John Gaillard, a Senator under which the country is now reposing from South Carolina; on the part of the House, it was nominated by HENRY CLAY, the supremacy of Slavery. To this instithe Speaker, and Representative from Ken- tution and its partisans the proposition tucky. This committee, thus constituted, drawing its double life from the South, was ing can be more unjust. Let the judg-

back again this morning from the House, with the restriction as to Slavery. The Senate voted to amend it by striking out the restriction, (27 to 15,) and proposed, as another amendment, what I have all along been the advocate of, a restriction upon the vacant territory to the north and west, as to Slavery. To-night the House of Representatives have agreed to both of these of the Declaration of Independence, there amendments, in opposition to their former votes, was upwards of half a million colored (of course) recede from our amendments as to been accomplished by the Conference, of which I was a member on the part of the Senate, and of and, though distributed throughout the which I proposed the report which has been whole country, were to be found in

Thus again the Compromise takes its But the spirit of Freedom then prevailed life from the South. Proposed in the com- in the land. The fathers of the Republic mittee by Mr. PINKNEY, it was urged on the leaders in the war of Independence, were House of Representatives, with great earnestness, by Mr. Lowndes, of South Carofor their own liberties, while holding in lina, and Mr. Mercer, of Virginia; and here bondage their fellow-men, only "guilty of again is the most persuasive voice of the a skin not colored like their own. South. When passed by Congress, it next same conviction animated the hearts of the came before the President, James Monroe, of Virginia, for his approval, who did not At a town meeting, at Danbury, Connec sign it till after the unanimous opinion of ticut, held on the 12th December, 1778 his Cabinet, in writing, composed of John | the following declaration was made: Quincy Adams, William H. Crawford, "It is with singular pleasure we note the Smith Thompson, John C. Calhoun, and second article of the Association, in which it is William Wirt-a majority of whom were agreed to import no more negro slaves, as we Illinois, Mr. Pinkney, of Maryland, and Southern men-that the prohibition of cannot but think it a palpa Slavery in the Territories was constitu- loudly to complain of attempts to enslave as tional. Thus yet again the Compromise takes its life from the South. As the Compromise took its life from The South responded in similar strains

reached earlier than in the House. A clause Lownder, of South Carolina, Mr. PARKER, the South, so the South, in the judgment At a meeting in Darien, Georgia, in 1775 of Massachusetts, and Mr. Kinsey, of of its own statesmen at the time, and the following important resolution was pu according to unquestionable facts, was forth: Meanwhile, the House had voted on the conquering party. It gained forth-the original Missouri bill. An amend-with its darling desire, the first and essenment, peremptorily interdicting all Slavery tial stage in the admission of Missouri as a in the new State, was adopted by 94 slave State, consummated at the next sesyeas to 86 nays; and thus the bill passed sion of Congress; and subsequently the admission of Arkansas, also as a slave (however the uncultivated state of the country March 1st. Thus, after an exasperated State. From the crushed and humbled or other specious arguments may plead for it) and protracted discussion, the two Houses North, it received more than the full con- a practice founded in injustice and cruelty, and sideration stipulated in its favor. On the side of the North the contract has been more than executed. And now the South refuses to perform the part which it originally proposed and assumed in this transpocket, it repudiates the bargain which it to use our utmost endeavors for the manumis forced upon the country. This, sir, is a of our slaves in this Colony, upon the mos simple statement of the present question. safe and equitable footing for the masters and A subtle German has declared, that he themselves."-Am. Archives, 4th Series, Vol. 1

and I believe it is only in this spirit that The soul of Virginia, during this period gations of this compact. As late as 1848, ferson, who, by precocious and immor "Yet as it was agreed to as a Compromise

would imply a determination in the House rangement, he was clearly right. I know, truths to be self-evident." says our counprepared for." The question then came, land, declaring the rights and liberties of are endowed with certain inalienable on striking out the restriction in the Mis- the subject and settling the succession of rights—that among these are life, liberty, souri bill. The report in the National In- the Crown, has become a permanent part and the pursuit of happiness." And again, of the British Constitution, irrepealable by in the Congress of the Confederation, he any common legislation, so this act, under brought forward, as early as 1784, a resothe Compromise recommended by the Committee of Conference, and urged with great also by long acquiescence and the comalso by long acquiescence and the com- ritory "ceded or to be ceded" by the States plete performance of its conditions by one of the Federal Government, including the would restore tranquillity to the country, which was demanded by every consideration of discretion, of moderation, of wisdom, and of virlation. As well might Congress at this moment undertake to overhaul the origi- a more restricted form, was renewed at a "Mr. Mercer, of Virginia, followed on the same side with great earnestness, and had spoken about half an hour, when he was comis to change, the condition of the Louisiana Pritory, which was already fixed by Connewly-acquired Territores, the condition of newly-acquired Territores, the condition of National Constitution and State Government, but simply acted upon newly-acquired Territores, the condition of newly-acquired Territores, the condition of National Constitution and State Government, but simply acted upon newly-acquired Territores, the condition of National Constitution and State Government, but simply acted upon newly-acquired Territories, the condition of National Constitution and State Government, and now, on this account, thrust as was attributed to it yesterday by the Senstration of Rights, involving no such absurdity and now, on this account, thrust as was attributed to it yesterday by the Senstration of Rights, involving no such absurdity and now, on this account, thrust as was attributed to it yesterday by the Senstration of Rights, involving no such absurdity and now, on this account, thrust as was attributed to it yesterday by the Senstration of Rights, involving no such absurdity and now, on this account, thrust as was attributed to it yesterday by the Senstration of Rights, involving no such absurdity and now, on this account, thrust as many that magnificant the North were humbled and against any restriction upon Missouri to the Union; but, at that session, no troduced the famous clause prohibiting to from Indiana, [Mr. Perrit.] Sir, it is a many that magnificant the North were humbled and admission of such State was attributed to it yesterday by the Senstration of Rights, involving no such absurdity and now, on this account, thrust as was attributed to it yesterday by the Senstration of Rights and now, on this account, thrust as was attributed to it yesterday by indiana, and now, on this account, thrust as was attributed to it yesterday by the Senstration of Rights and now, on this account, thrust as was attributed to it yesterday by the Senstration of Rights and now, on this account, thrust as was attributed to it away that magnificent heritage, with all confirmed in the Ordinance of the north-In conformity with this report, this dis-

jected the proposition. It appears that it was proposed to burn the combined rity of peace in a neighboring sea, and thus confirm the naval supremacy of Athens. A similar proposition is now brought before the American Senate. You are asked to destroy a safeguard of Freedom, consecrated by solemn compact, in the security of peace, and thus confirm may seem to be advantageous; but nothment of the Athenian multitude be yours. This is what I have to say on this head. now pass to the second branch of the

II. Mr. President, it is not only as an inraign it also as a flagrant and extravagant departure from the original policy of our fathers, consecrated by their lives, onin

largest number in the Southern States.

for, and which we pray the Almighty to con With the consideration in its foundation. We therefore resolve at all time

> of 1774, he openly avowed, while vindicating the rights of British America, that where it was unhappily introduced in their infant state." And then again, in the Dec-

which was not already fixed by Congressional enactment. The two transactions related to different subject-matters. Secondly: The enactment do not directly touch the subject of Slavery, during the territorial existence of Utah and New Mexico; but they provide prospectively, that, when admitted as States, they